defended. When a Christian college teacher fails to follow the official party line, he is expelled and branded a religious Trotskyite. I recall a Bales-written pamphlet exposing the "errors" of one such victim. The latter, it seems, got into the "synagogue," and the "riot" followed.

Such authoritarian tactics will not prevail. No matter how rigid the enforcement of orthodoxy or how alert the guard, the forces of change are at work in the younger generation. My reviewer would probably be taken back by the responses which I have had to *Voices* from some who have sat in his own classes. The erosion of some of the most treasured orthodoxy is already well advanced, as he can find out by any reasonably well designed questionnaire. I would like to see these forces of change operating constructively. To tie religion to a crude economic ideology which cannot stand rational analysis is to invite distrust of both.

I wish that Dr. Bales had dealt with the burden of my analysis in *Voices* (p. 73) and my plea for a fellowship of reconciliation (p. 85). Had he done so, I think, there would have resulted that rare phenemenon called "dialogue" which is the first step toward restoration and renewal. Once the dam of authoritarian control is breached, the lay resorvoir of good will, common sense, and tolerant outreach will bring this about. The breach, I believe, will come.

Norman L. Parks is professor of political science and head of the department of social science at Middle Tennessee State University in Murfreesboro. He was for eight years dean at David Lipscomb College and was on the faculty of two other Church of Christ colleges.

UNITY MEETING AT CANE RIDGE

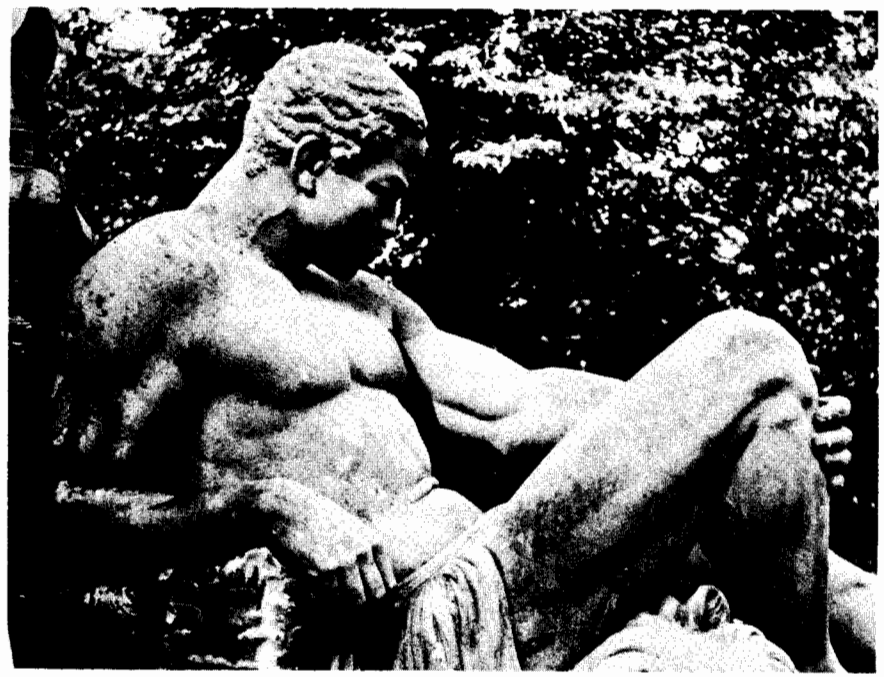
Again we would remind you to attend the Third Annual Unity Forum to be held at Winchester, Ky., July 5-8. Since the date includes the Fourth of July holiday, it is ideal time for a family vacation in a most stimulating environment.

There will be things for children to do, and for all of us there will be an exciting pilgrimage to Cane Ridge, the birthplace of one branch of the Restoration Movement. It was there that Barton W. Stone struggled for truths that led him eventually to join forces with Alexander Campbell. In 1832 the two tributaries, the Stoneites, known as Christians, and the Campbellites, known as Disciples, united their forces in what proved to be the first major church unification in American history. We have not done too well since then.

But we'll be doing something like that in July at Winchester, for representatives from nearly all the major groups of our Movement will be together in a spirit of searching, studying, praying, sharing.

No tuition and no restrictions. And the charges for room and board at Southeastern Christian College, which hosts the affair along with the local Church of Christ and Christian Church, will be modest. Write to President Lavern Houtz at the college for reservation.

RESTORATION REVIEW



May this piece of art by Bartholdi (who did the Statue of Liberty), that inspired Albert Schweitzer to go to Africa to help redeem the white man for his sins against his black brother, inspire us to work and pray for the unity of mankind in this time of crisis.

See in this issue:

CAN WE UNDERSTAND?
REVERENCE FOR LIFE

Volume 10, No. 4 **April, 1968**

CAN WE UNDERSTAND?
(A sermon delivered on Sunday after a murder)

ROBERT MEYERS
Riverside Church of Christ
Wichita, Kansas

A few hours ago, within a few blocks of my home, these things happened:

A neighbor said that when her mother first heard the news of Thursday evening she said: "Well, they've shot old King. I hope they killed him."

A group of Negro students raced down the halls at North high school breaking windows and attacking anyone unlucky enough to be caught by himself. My son sat with others in a biology classroom as black fists broke out the door glass. A senior girl who lives across the street from me came home in tears after seeing a mob of Negro boys kick a white boy in the school yard until an amublance came for him.

And at the little grocery store, only a block and a half away, a very self-important white man said to my wife: "Well, you bought your gun yet, Lady? You're going to need it!"

Those things were done and said by whites and Negroes within a few blocks of my home. They also were happening all over America. Nothing could possibly be sillier than for me to ignore this from your pulpit, nor than for you to suppose even for a moment that these things are no concern of ours as Christians.

The immediate cause of these things is the cowardly murder of Dr. Martin Luther King. His death has focused the eyes of the world once again upon the American experiment in liberty, and it has made it chillingly clear that we must do something about the poisons of racism or face unbelievable civil terrors in years to come.

What about this man whom the world mourns and whose death has numbed us in ways reminiscent of that terrible November. Was he great, as many whites and Negroes believed? Or was he simply a stubborn agitator, as so many other whites and Negroes thought?

RESTORATION REVIEW is published monthly (except July and August) at 1201 Windsor Dr., Denton, Texas. Leroy Garrett, Editor. Second class permit at Denton, Texas. Subscription rate is $1.00 per annum; 50 cents in clubs of 6 or more.

Address all mail to: 1201 Windsor Drive, Denton, Texas 76201.

One thing is certain: he is a highly controversial subject and I am unlikely to win approval from all of you today, no matter how I speak.

One problem in considering him is that we define greatness so differently. For some it is perfection, mainly because the only great men they know about have been dead for so long their faults are forgotten. Such people scoff at the idea that King was great because they are positive he made many mistakes. The truth is that every great man in history has made tremendous mistakes. Only little men never make great mistakes. They make little mistakes, and no one pays much attention to them. And they make little victories, too, and no one pays much attention to those, either.

But great men—just read history—have always made huge errors. And bitter enemies. Yet it is not finally the mistakes a man makes in his gigantic struggle, but the judgment *we* make of the essential rightness of his cause and of the general rightness of his life, that shapes the verdict of history. So judged, Martin Luther King was a great man, and the sorrowful reaction is the correct one.

What we have to remember is that committed men always make other people violently angry. Moses, Socrates, Jesus, Lincoln—there is something about the white hot zeal and fervor of such men that triggers a violent reaction in sneaky, cowardly souls so that they hide in old buildings with guns, or mass with other cowards in mobs, and do away with their tormentors.

King, more than any other single man, welded the Negro people into a unity. He won a bus strike in Montgomery, Alabama and proved to the Negroes that they did not have to be insulted every single day of their lives on the buses in that city. He got them to vote. He encouraged them to stand up for the freedom America promises all men. And his rhetoric, singing and soaring in a deeply religious lyricism, gave them hope and courage.

One of two modern American Negroes to win the Nobel Peace prize, Martin Luther King's last few years involved him in a seeming paradox. White men, annoyed and frightened by racial riots, believed that he was preaching non-violence out of one side of his mouth and stirring up riots out of the other. They believed this because they noticed that of late, where he went, violence occurred.

The violence did happen, and King went on with his campaign, although he continued to speak against violence. My own feeling is

that he had no choice, unless he were to bow out of the struggle altogether. There may have been times, being human, when he almost said in some corner of his heart, I don't care if there *is* violence; we have waited too long! But I feel such moments would never have lasted long.

But King knew one thing, and this drove him on: *he knew that freedom is never voluntarily or happily given by an oppressor.* It has to be demanded. The oppressor, profiting in various ways by his injustice, always says, Wait. Be Patient. Wait. And what he almost always means is, Never, Never, Never. Hold them off, pacify them, keep life sweet for yourself as long as possible and let the next generation worry about the problem.

Against such an attitude, what can the oppressed do but keep nudging and pushing until something happens? It was that way for the Hebrews until they finally departed Egypt in violence, and entered Canaan in violence. It was that way with the birth of the American republic, born in violence, and sustaining itself when it had to through violence.

Yet I hate such violence as I hate few things else on this earth. I hate the sight of a Bull Connors-type in Birmingham kicking a Negro in the head, and I hate it when a group of Negro boys enter a high school and kick into uselessness the kidney of an unoffending white boy. I hate it when an unidentified coward shoots a world figure from a dingy hotel room, and I hate it when an angry Negro reacts by seizing his gun and going out to kill the first honkie he sees.

But I am not the only one who hates that kind of violence. It was a Negro boy at North high school who came at last to the rescue of the white lad and stood up against cowards of his own race. And in Atlanta, beside King's coffin, Negro students handed out pamphlets charging that "black people are killing his spirit. Black people are using the death of our great black leader for an excuse to rob and steal and destroy. We are asking you in the King's name to respect his death."

Despite this kind of discipleship, many whites prefer to believe that King was the real cause of their grief and that if he would only go away, racial peace would come again. I can tell you one thing: *racial peace will not come until racism has departed.* And King dedicated his life to showing America and the world how much racism there is in this country. This is what we cannot forgive him for,

perhaps. His disclosure of our secret, festering hatreds made him loved by the black community which suffered from those hatreds endlessly, but it made him hated by many whites who thought he was destroying otherwise good race relations.

So J. Edgar Hoover called him the worst liar in the land, ex-president Truman called him a troublemaker, and one white television viewer in Mississippi got so angry a few years ago when he saw King's image that he grabbed his shotgun and blew the set into kindling. And what some of my own friends have called him, in secret moments, they would prefer not hearing this morning.

Yet he said repeatedly, "If blood is to flow, let it be ours" and his people said, Amen! And so long as it was their blood flowing, few whites hated Martin Luther King. But when whites had kicked and beaten and shot enough non-violent civil rights workers so that black racists could stir up Negroes in despite of Dr. King, then white blood began to flow and suddenly King was feared and hated. Somehow, irrationally, white men supposed that if he would go away, their trouble would go away. To such men I can only say that he was, among all Negro civil rights leaders, the best friend you had. And for that reason his death does not surprise me. We often kill our benefactors.

Now I must say something of the riots yet to come, because attitudes are rapidly hardening on both sides. Unless we begin to feel and talk differently, our future is grim and bloody. The hardest thing I have ever tried to do, I think, is explain to whites how they must *understand* the rioting Negro even when they do not *approve* of him. Nor is this a problem for whites only. Thousands of staid, middleclass Negroes who keep up their property, honor their marriages, and practice high ethical principles simply cannot understand the behavior of some of their brothers.

Can you understand that in a strange, frightening way this antisocial behavior is a desperate call for help? A call for help can come in many different ways. If you are a parent, you may hear a call for help when your child is naughty. Unconsciously you may have ignored him, or seemed grossly unfair to him in your attentions to another child or your business, so he throws a tantrum. He knows that at least *that* will get him attention. He had rather be spanked than ignored, because human beings cannot bear to be ignored. It destroys their sense of self.

What I ask you to understand today is that people who have been deprived of the minimal requirements necessary to create and preserve human dignity are exactly like such children. Their burnings and lootings and surly rebellions, however frightening and annoying, are in actuality one of the most sorrow-filled cries for help ever to sound inside the great halls of human misery.

So while I hate violence and arson and looting, I believe them to be ultimately cries for help. Irrational, certainly, because so far the rioting Negro has hurt himself more than anyone else. Just as a child in tantrum may harm himself much more than he harms another. But in both cases, the motive is the same: even if I do harm myself, I will get somebody to pay attention to my plight.

Now we may spend our breath forever saying, Well, if they'd just behave, we would do good things for them. The plain fact is that good behavior got them very little except second class existence and contempt for over a hundred years. If they know nothing else, they know that. And the other thing they know is that they are now forcing us to notice them, and to try to figure out what to do for them before they turn all of America into a nightmare. The tantrum, in other words, is working. One would be an idiot not to understand why it is being continued. The parent of a child in tantrum can kill the child and stop the embarrassment, or he can try to figure out where he has gone wrong and resolve upon ways of changing the environment.

Many white people honestly believe that the Negro has now been given so much he ought to be happy. It is hard to know how to counter such colossal ignorance. I suppose such people believe it because they want to believe it, because it ministers to their comfort and feeds their sense of being treated unjustly by the Negro whom they have so long wronged. We play tricky games with fair housing, for example, giving just as little as we can in order to hold back Negro militants and hedging the topic around with such language and practice that it amounts to almost nothing. We count on the slow, cumbrous, obscure machinery of the law to dull the fierce anger of militants. After all, we realize, no one can stay at the boiling point forever. After a while the most ardent civil rights worker subsides in despair, and the white neighborhoods are snug and secure again — until one hot summer night the frustration and bitterness boils over again and we sit wondering why.

And even when a neighborhood is legally desegregated, our hearts know other ways to show malice. A fireman says to his friend, "Sure a Negro can move into our suburb, but he won't get much fire protection; and you know, his house might just start to burn." There are a thousand ways to segregate and the law can never touch most of them.

There is little hope until our hearts are changed by some power higher than our prejudices and hates. Among *us,* at least, the solution has been given. We have to exercise the Christian grace of forgiveness while we labor patiently to undo the damage of a century and a half. The Negro must forgive us for working every trick in the book to keep him down economically and socially so that we could exploit him. And we now have a few violent years to forgive him for, and we must try to *understand* even when we most desperately *disapprove.*

We can never understand the explosive bitterness that has finally been released among many Negroes until we force ourselves to ask certain questions and give honest answers. Questions like these:

What would it do to *me* if my little six year old son came home crying one day and asked me why other children hated him and called him names because his face was dark. What would it create in *my* heart if he looked at me and said through tears, "Daddy, is *black* bad?"

What would it do to *me* if I were driving down some lonely highway, as Negroes have done for so many years in our history, and my wife and I were both sick with weariness and desperate for sleep, yet both of us knew with a shame we did not want to discuss that we could not enter the motels along the road? What would it create in *my* heart if I had to plan trips carefully so that I could be in the right places at the right time?

What would it do to *me* if I had some strange disfigurement of the face so that people politely avoided looking directly at me when they came near? Would I not scream out, after years of this, See me! Look at me! I'd rather see you flinch than to be ignored and become invisible. So has it been with the Negro and his color.

What kind of man would I have become if I had spent half my life carefully avoiding restroom signs, and cafe signs, and park signs that said, FOR NEGROES ONLY?

I used to ask myself in Searcy, Arkansas, what kind of hatred I would have built up if I had had to go down to the one movie in that little town and after I had bought my ticket I had had to climb some

dark, dingy stairs over to one side of the building and sit in a special, segregated balcony away from all the white people sitting below me in the choicer seats.

I think I know what kind of man I would have become, because I am weaker than some of my Negro friends. They have put up with what I could never have managed. And so, although I do not *approve* of their outbursts, I *understand* them. And I will add this about my conviction: if a member of my own family were to be hurt or killed in this terrible struggle, I would be heartbroken but my mind would go right on saying to me that it was an understandable evil and that only with patient good will could I rub out the longlasting foundations for it.

Martin Luther King spoke my own feelings eloquently in that dramatic Washington, D.C., speech before a couple of hundred thousand people of every skin tone imaginable.

I have a dream, he said, *that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.*

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the people's injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I share the man's dream. I regret whatever mistakes he made. I condemn every act of violence committed by either white or black. I pray God that we shall find wisdom and grace and courage to solve our desperate problem. But in the meantime I shall try to understand why these bad things are happening and to confess the guilt of my own race for the hundred years of misdeeds that are now coming terribly down upon our heads. I shall realize that as my people have been cruel sometimes, so black men will be cruel now, no matter how much I hate it, no matter how much some of their own brothers hate it.

And I hope that Martin Luther King was right when he said in that strangely prophetic speech just before his death that he was ready when the end came because he had been to the mountaintop, like Moses on that peak in ancient Moab, and had seen the promised land. *The dawn will come,* he said. *The glory of the Lord shall be revealed in America and all flesh shall see it together.*

God grant that it may be so, and that every Christian in this little community of ours will act wisely and courageously in the days that lie so forbiddingly ahead of us. Above all else, let not a single one of *us* say or do one thing that will make the bloody tantrum worse. Having been forgiven by so many black Americans for so many years, we must now find the grace in our hearts to forgive some of them for these years. The debt will have to be cancelled soon on both sides, so that we can say without embarrassment once again that America is really the land of the free.

My text? If you have wondered about that I remind you that it was illuminating every sentence from the beginning and throwing the only ray of light I can find at this moment on the darksome road ahead. It reads: *Father, forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us.*

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article by Robert Meyers is so important that we are issuing it as a Reprint, with separate title cover and attractive format, for general distribution. It may do much in creating better understanding between the races. If you will help us to distribute them to teachers, students, business people, church leaders of both races, etc., we will make you the special price of 12 copies for 1.00 or a hundred copies for only 5.00, including postage. This is one small contribution that we want to make to our country in these critical times.

God and Culture . . .

REVERENCE FOR LIFE

One of the most impressive things that Ouida and I have laid our eyes upon lately is *The Schweitzer Album,* which we have been reading to each other with utter delight. It is a portrait of "the 13th apostle" in words and pictures by Erica Anderson, a dear woman who admired Schweitzer so much that she collected 33,000 pictures of him and his work, many of which she took herself in faraway Lambarene. In this volume she passes along 170 pictures that she likes best, 27 of which are in color. Apart from the magnificence of the subject, one is made to marvel at the techniques of modern photography and publication.

The picture we found most significant we are passing along to you on our front cover, one reason being its influence on Schweitzer when a youth. It is the work of Bartholdi, the sculptor who did the Statue of Liberty. It graced the town square in Colmar, France when Schweitzer was a boy, and he was so touched by it that whenever his parents were near Colmar, he would beg them to take him by to see once more the melancholy African Negro. Later during his student

years he often returned to it, meditating on the cruelty of the white man to the black. It no doubt influenced his decision to go to Africa as a medical missionary in an effort to redeem the white man for his sins against his black brother.

Miss Anderson emphasizes the Christ-centeredness of Schweitzer's life and thought, even if he did not believe in the deity of Christ. Hardly any man of our time has exemplified the spirit of Jesus as has Albert Schweitzer, and that is why some number him with the apostles. Even though he was a doctor of theology as well as of music and medicine, his theology was simple. "A Christian is one who has the spirit of Christ. This is the only theology," he tells us. He has meditated upon the life of Jesus as few have, and it was he who gave us *The Quest for the Historical Jesus.* And yet the profundest lesson he learned from Jesus was one he admired for its simple beauty: *He who would find his life must lose it.*

Other highlights from his thought, selected by Miss Anderson, reveal the essential Christian character of his philosophy.

"Everyone must work to live, but the purpose of life is to serve and to show compassion and the will to help others. Only then have we ourselves become true human beings."

"Among friends, when someone is angry at you, always leave the door open for reconciliation."

"As we acquire more knowledge, things do not become more comprehensible but more mysterious."

To a god-child he wrote:

"Read for yourself in the New Testament; do not give it up as long as you live, for in this you will learn what the spirit of Jesus is. The wonderful sayings will light you on your way. And hold to the Church! Do not let Sunday be taken from you, either through sports activities or through anything else. If your soul has no Sunday, it becomes an orphan. And when you get lost in life, know that the road of return to God is always open."

There is a letter he wrote to a U. S. Navy lieutenant, who was on his way to Korea, disillusioned with life. He writes:

"I believe that there is reason for hope. Hope is there like a small band of light on the sky before the sunrise. There begins to stir in the world a new spirit, a spirit of humanity. The terrible thing was that we fell into inhumanity without knowing it . . . The spirit teaches us the great truth that we men must come to love, that is to have reverence for life, to true humanity."

The reference to "reverence for life" is basic to all of Schweitzer's thought, and it is surely one of the great ideas to emerge from modern thought. Life was itself a mystery to him, and he admitted that there is no way to explain it. It must rather be lived, and always with awe and reverence. We must never hurt others, and we should kill only under compulsion of absolute necessity. Each wounding or killing is a guilt we impose upon ourselves. We must move into a true and deep relationship with other beings, including insects and animals. Happiness comes through helping other creatures. We are endowed with the faculty of sharing the life of others, in their joys and fears and grief; and it is this endowment that should direct our behavior.

This explains good and evil. Good is preserving life, all life, and reverencing it since it is of God. Evil is destroying life, injuring it, or thwarting its full flowering.

So serious does Schweitzer take all this that he actually will not harm a flea. If a fly is in the room, he will free it, not kill it. He will trap a mosquito in his hand and turn it outdoors. When anyone complains that this is only being cranky, he points out that anything that has life is to be reverenced, and no life, however insignificant, is to be taken lightly. His concern in Lambarene was not only for the natives whose minds and bodies he sought to heal in his brush hospital, but also for the animals that would venture into camp, wounded or diseased. One letter in this book reveals his concern for a baby gorilla that he was raising.

Experimentation with animals was therefore a problem in Schweitzer's view. In his own laboratory he made a rule that no animal's life was to be taken for experimental purpose unless absolutely necessary. He also insisted that an animal's suffering should be reduced as much as possible, and he thought it a crime to withhold an anesthetic just because one is in a hurry.

Ouida and I concluded from all this that if we could instill in our children even a tithing of Schweitzer's idea of *reverence for life,* we would measurably add meaning to their concept of life. Reverence for animals. Reverence for themselves. Reverence for other people. We are all part of the *life* that is in God, and who is the giver of all *life.* Surely if a child is taught to reverence even the life of a bug, rather than to stomp the life out of it as he is inclined to do, his reverence for man and God will be even greater. A child who is taught to cherish the life of a bird is less likely to grow up killing men and cursing God.

In this issue of our journal our principal articles are about Albert Schweitzer and Martin Luther King, Jr. It so happens that they were both recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize, which is probably the greatest honor that man bestows upon man. It is noteworthy that with both of these men there was *reverence for life* that transcends race, color, creed. They were truly men of the world. The love of God did something important to their lives.—*the Editor*

WHO ARE THE REACTIONARIES?

JAMES D. BALES

A reply of book length would be necessary to deal with all of the charges and arguments advanced in Dr. Parks' chapter in *Voices of Concern.* Since he as well as some of the other writers made a number of charges concerning the conservatism of some of us in the economic and political sphere, and since similar charges were made in the national press during the past few years, we shall concentrate on these charges.

Neanderthal?

Some of us are identified by Parks with "rightwing political propaganda," and with the "neanderthal wing of

politics." (*Voices*, p. 72) "Neanderthal" was not defined but it implies that we are reactionaries holding to antiquated positions of the remote past. In a book which the editor said was supposed to manifest compassion, we doubt that this was a loving effort to identify our position!

What "rightwing political propaganda" means depends on the point of reference. If one's point of reference is Marx's *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, we are far to its right. However, we do not occupy the opposite extreme and thus we are not the far right in contrast with the far left. The far left is totalitarianism—whether Communist or its Fascist cousin—and the exact opposite of the total state would be anarchy; the stateless society. We are not anarchist, for we are for constitutional, and thus limited, government.

If one's point of reference is the Constitution, we are neither to the right nor the left; but on the center with the Constitution. We hold to the fundamental principles on which this country was built. These are: faith in God; the belief that man is a moral being created by God with responsibility to himself, to others, and to God.

Obviously we are not perfect in our understanding and application of the principles which have made out country great, but this does not justify one in classifying constitutional conservatives as rightwing neanderthalers. Perhaps this charge was made because Dr. Parks was just repeating, without thinking, charges which he had heard; or perhaps it was because the frame of reference has shifted in America in the thinking of many people so that many things once regarded as on the left, when judged by the Constitution, are now considered to be moderate. Whatever may have been the reason, we do not consider the labels which Parks used as conducive to intelligent dialogue. Before Parks wrote his chapter we had replied to similar criticisms made by Communists, Socialists, and the Anti-Defamation League (Jewish) in our book *Americanism Under Fire* which is available for $2 from the National Education Program in Searcy, Arkansas 72143.

Sinful Love of the World?

Parks misinterprets 1 John 15-17 as a Christ-against-culture concept, and we are charged with rejecting this in the "economic sphere and of having come to terms with the world. Capitalism is viewed as a part of God's law and the business order as the fruition of the divine scheme." (*Voices*, pp. 71-72) These statements indicate a misunderstanding of John and of certain brethren. First, John did not speak of one's concern for a system of freedom. He spoke of the lusts of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. These lusts manifest themselves in men regardless of the economic and political system under which they live. Second, the church is universal in its scope of operation. It is not to wait, before it penetrates a society, until the society has established a certain kind of economic and political system. It does not depend for its existence on democracy, although it is obvious that a dictatorship would make it difficult for the church to work in freedom, and would drive it underground in many cases. Third, some economic and political systems are more influenced by and more friendly to Christianity than are some others.

For example: (a) Socialism speaks

more of one's rights, and the duties of others toward one, than it does of an individual's own duties and responsibilities. The free enterprise system places more responsibility on the individual. (1 Tim. 5:8) (b) Socialism places the emphasis on the responsibility of society, implying that the individual has little responsibility for his condition, and that his character will change for the better if we will only change the economic system to one of State control. Free enterprise places more emphasis on the individual changing his own character and conditions. (c) Socialism undermines the principle of private ownership, while free enterprise emphasizes it. (Compare Acts 5:4) (d) Socialism encourages covetousness and says if the other person gets much more than you do, take it away from him through the state and get more of what he has for yourself. Free enterprise states that you should go to work and increase the economic pie; instead of thinking that it is a matter of dividing the pie someone else has. (Compare Eph. 4:28; Acts 20:33-34; 18:3).

(e) Historically the various systems of socialism usually have been associated in varying degrees with the rejection of God, or of divine revelation, or of many of the moral principles of the Bible. Historically in our country free enterprise has been rooted in faith in God, faith in God as the source of man's rights and duties, individual responsibility, and the moral principles of the Bible. This does not mean that men have not fallen short, but these at least have been the ideals. (f) Free enterprise embraces the principle that if a man will not work it is not the duty of others to support him. (Compare 2 Thess. 3:10-12); while socialism embraces the principle that others should be forced to support those who will not work. (g) Christianity does not condemn the profit motive, although it does condemn the boastfulness of those who leave God out of their plans (Jas. 4:13-16). No system can progress without some form of profit; regardless of whether the profit is taken by the State and distributed according to the will of politicians or the profit is taken by individuals and companies who, among other things, pay taxes to the state. (h) Some have said that we are being materialistic in pointing out that free enterprise has made it possible for more people to have more of the material things of life; but is not an economic system supposed to produce? Furthermore, they contradict themselves by criticizing free enterprise and then asserting that more people will get more of the economic pie if we had some socialistic system! (i) Collectivism tends to undermine regard for individuals, and to regard them as cogs or tools. Free enterprise shows respect for the individual, for it leaves him free to regulate his own life within the bounds of lawful activities. (j) Free enterprise recognizes that men must not be trusted with unlimited power over the lives of others, and thus it asks for freedom within the bounds of constitutional law. Collectivism places more and more power in the hands of a few individuals who are not good enough, or if they are good enough are not wise enough, to be trusted with such power. A liberal, Walter Lippmann, pointed this out in *The Good Society*.

In being for the free enterprise system, and constitutional government,

Parks thought that we had made "peace with the world." (*Voices*, pp. 71-72) We are not making peace with the world when we maintain that Christians ought to be interested in that system of government and that economic system which has provided us with the greatest freedoms and the greatest amount of goods to supply our own needs and to help others. If this is making peace with the world, how much more so are our critics, who advocate more and more state intervention, with its police power—for such power always backs its intervention into the lives of the people—to bring about the various changes and goals which they deem good.

We are not making peace with the world when we defend capitalism, not as a perfect system, but as the best devised by imperfect men. And yet, some think that one has become a real Christian in his economic thinking if he advocates state socialism as the solution to most of the problems of today. The same critic who said that for us the church "is no longer at war with the secular economic world," (*Voices*, p. 74) wants us, in my opinion, to be in at least comparative peace with some socialistic economic view.

Acts 17:6?

We are accused of hostility "to social reforms, welfare programs, state intervention in the economy, labor unions, racial integration, disturbers of the status quo, and 'those who have turned the world upside down' (Acts 17:6)." (*Voices*, p. 72) Is one against reform because he does not advocate certain ways of trying to bring about the reform? Is a person non-progressive because he does not automatically turn to Washington for the solution of problems? Government is essential; and thus there is the necessity of some governmental intervention into our lives, but does this mean that there is no limit? Are we neanderthalers because we are convinced that a line must be drawn between the power of the government and the freedom of the individual? Do not all men agree, with the exception of unabashed dictators, that such a line must be drawn? The collectivist automatically turns first to the Federal Government for the solution, while the one who puts freedom first automatically turns to the individual or to voluntary organizations of individuals. He may finally conclude that certain problems have to be solved, or partially so, by the state, but he will first ponder several questions. (a) Is a solution to the problem necessary? (b) If necessary, does it have to be done right now; or must other problems be solved first? (c) Will the proposed solution work? What light does history, common sense, and a knowledge of human nature throw on the answer to this question? (d) Can we afford it? Are we going to pay for it, or are we going to ask oncoming generations to pay for these things which we are unwilling to pay for ourselves, and which we pass on to them in form of the national debt? Is this really honest? Is not this taxation of future generations without representation? (e) Is it impossible to solve the problem on the local level? President Kennedy said: "I do not believe that Washington should do for the people what they can do for themselves through local and private effort. There is no magic attached to tax dollars that have been to Washington and back. No expert in the Nation's Capital knows as much about a community's local problems and how to meet them as its local business men and officials. Too much government is just as much a threat to our liberties as too little government. There are too many tasks already awaiting public attention without having the Government undertake those that can better be done by private or local effort." (As quoted in *The General Electric Defense Quarterly*, January - March, 1961, pp. 10-11. Speech of Oct. 12, 1960)

We are not defenders of the *status quo* because we believe that progress will be made through following the principles on which this country was founded and which have made her so prosperous and so free.

We wonder what Parks' reaction would be today if someone did what Paul did when he was accused of turning the world upside down? The context is not that of the intervention of the police power of the state to bring about certain changes in society, but of a disturbance brought on by preaching that Jesus is the Christ. Paul had preached in a Jewish synagogue, had converted some people, and had aroused the jealousy of certain Jews. They stirred up a mob and accused them of turning the world upside down. (Acts 17:1-8) We wonder how pleased this critic would be if one conducted a dialogue in a synagogue which resulted in such a disturbance? Christianity also turns the world upside down in its advocacy of certain principles which bring about changes in the hearts of men and thus in their lives and in their dealings with others. It is my conviction that its principles undermine the concepts on which dictatorship, the all-powerful state, is built.

Anti-Labor?

We are charged with being hostile to labor unions. (*Voices*, p. 72) It is impossible to prove this charge, and the accuser did not try to do so. To it we reply: First, *The Washington Post*, a liberal publication, stated that the role of unions "is seldom mentioned" in National Education Program pamphlets, speeches and films. (Oct. 4, 1964, p. E3) We mention the NEP because our accuser included us in his accusations. Second, we are for labor, and believe that they should be free. This includes the freedom to form and to be a part of a labor union. It also includes the right to be free from the dictatorship of a monopoly of labor union leaders which some union bosses want to establish. Third, we are for labor in that we are for constitutional government and the free enterprise system which has given the laboring man in America the highest standard of living the world has known. Fourth, we are for labor in that we are against the replacement of the free enterprise system with socialism. Under socialism, labor cannot long be free. When the government is the employer, to strike against the employer is to strike against the government; and the government, if it is so minded, can call this treason. Fifth, we are for labor in that we are against communism. Under communism also the union is an agent of the government. Essential to communism is forced labor in varying degrees up to and including slave labor camps.

Although they may not realize it, socialists are working against the interest of labor for they are endeavoring to build one gigantic political-eco-

nomic - educational - communicational-planning monopoly in Washington.

Due to limitation of space we cannot discuss other aspects of Parks' chapter. While some doubtless will criticize us for having dealt with what we have, we thought it important that this aspect of the book should not go unnoticed. Some of the other matters have been dealt with in our book *The Faith Under Fire.*

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IN REPLY TO DR. BALES

NORMAN L. PARKS

If Dr. Bales had actually set himself to the task of reviewing my essay, he would have had to cut a new record. Instead, he has chosen to replay one of his tired, old ideological discs about "socialism and free enterprise" toward which it is hard to be charitable, and which at best touches only tangentially the theme of "Thy Ecclesia Come."

Nevertheless, his article underscores the point that Church of Christ leadership, among whom he self-consciously places himself to the forefront with his repetitious "we," identifies Christianity with a particular bourgeois ideology—an indeology which is the "Protestant ethic" gone to seed. This identification is not only a gross error, but also a threat to the very survival of the ecumenical movement initiated by Campbell and Stone. Any movement that becomes culture-bound never survives when that culture undergoes fundamental reordering. The Way blazed by Jesus Christ belongs to no ism, no class, no culture. It is neither capitalistic, nor socialistic, nor communistic in the sense that it prescribes any form of economic or political organization.

I must reject the assumption that in my essay I cobbled the shoe to fit my reviewer's foot, however snug it fits. Nor did I categorize him as "neanderthal," but when he describes Walter Lippmann, one of the nation's most distinguished conservatives, as a "liberal," he cuts his own niche. There is only one indirect reference to his institution, which notes the inconsistency of grasping federal largess with one hand while handing out denunciations of "dictatorial federalism" with the other. No mention of the NEP appears, however much it is a source of embarrassment to a "Church of Christer" in most educational circles. Indeed, I am impressed by the negative influence it has with many of its own students. My concern is much broader —the penetration of the "business ethic" into organized religion, wherein the church must be a "going concern," the elders are a self-perpetuating board of directors, the "minister" is president and general manager and submits his policies to the board (and resigns or gets fired over policy disagreements), and the passive stockholders vote by perpetual proxy.

Let it be made clear that criticism of religion that draws vitality from the carcass of Social Darwinism does not require defense of socialism or any other one form of economic organization. I do note that the founder of

Christianity was a poor man. His good news was for the poor, the imprisoned, the bruised. Riches seemed to him a hazard. A Biblical free enterpriser who built bigger barns to house bigger economic pies met a sad end. The so-called Reformation Movement in America was led by political and economic radicals. John T. Johnson and David Purviance fought for stay laws, debtor relief, inflationary money, and other forms of governmental intervention. Alexander Campbell in the Virginia Convention thundered against the "money aristocracy," "any incorporation for religious purpose," and the dangers in an alliance of wealth and religion.

The review before me stands in strange contrast to this record. I may not be very acute, but it sounds much like the line propagated by Hunt's "Lifeline," the Hargis "Christian Crusade," and "Manion's Forum." It does not seem to touch reality. Its "free enterprise system" bears as little relevance to the massive corporate structure of our economy pictured in Galbraith's *Industrial State* as it does to the fundamentals of Christianity. "Collectivism" appears to be an ugly word in its lexicon. The TVA is "bad" because it is a public collective. But strangely, Arkansas Power and Light, whose late president, Ham Moses, was a NEP folk hero, is "good"—even when it keeps two sets of books, one for the record and the other to bilk the public. Can any Christian criteria for judging the goodness or badness of either private or public collectives be formulated other than honesty and service? By any rational criteria of performance who can believe that Dave Lilienthal would come out second to Ham Moses?

Most American business thrives today in the form of vast private collectives characterized by hierarchy, bureaucracy, planning, and geographic spread. Organizationally and behaviorally they are so like governmental agencies they can be called private governments. AT&T, with its $36 billion in capital, exceeds the combined wealth of a score of states. Big business begets big government from the necessity to protect the people against abuses of private power. The proclaimed goal of "an economy free of Government control" is an empty slogan, for the business game without a referee would be unthinkable, even to its players.

While both of us believe that limited, constitutional government offers the best possible environment for freedom and progress, it appears that we define constitutionalism and limits in different ways. Our constitution is a living force, constantly restated and reinterpreted, as Justice Holmes observed, "in the light of our whole experience." Our Supreme Court has performed this function on the whole with wisdom and foresight. Denunciations of "judicial fiat" will not alter its fundamental role. This is why social security is constitutional and segregation is now unconstitutional. As to limits, I would prohibit the federal government from lending or giving tax money to Harding College because it violates the principle of separation of institutionalized religion and the state. I marvel at the inability of the recipients to detect no wrong in taxing the American people to support a church-related school that denounces the evil of outstretched hands to "Washington." On the other hand, the case is strong that taxes belong to Caesar and ought to be paid, but Dr.

Bales' institution had to be dragged into court because it refused to pay taxes on its business enterprises.

The disquisition on the camparative merits of "socialism" and "free enterprise" reflects the absurdities of doctrinaire ideology. We have public highways, public hospitals, and public schools. To the professional "free enterpriser" these are enervating and corrupting "socialistic" ventures. To a pragmatic society they are sensible and practical solutions to the problems of education, transportation, and health which could not be effectively met otherwise. For the problems of old age insecurity, growing out of profound changes in the structure of the family and sources of livelihood, we developed compulsory old age and survivors insurance. The American people do not support OASI out of any ideological reasoning, but from an instrumentalist approach. It is good that our society is not ideological. It is safe to predict, therefore, that in terms of means we will continue to do through politics what we may do better collectively and we will continue to have more of both public enterprise and private enterprise. Such is the richness and variety of American society.

If public enterprise, as the author alleges, puts emphasis on the responsibility of society, it does no more than Christianity does. The beatitudes are stated in the plural—"ye are the light of the world." The great New Testament letters were written to whole assemblies. What person can seriously believe the crisis in our ghettos can be met by anything short of massive federal, state, private, and community efforts? Must an increase in collective effort require a decrease in individual responsibility? Why is it that Social Security has been such an enormous boon to the private insurance industry?

I question if any thoughtful conservative would make such a blanket statement as "socialism encourages covetousness," whereas free enterprise "states that you should go to work and increase the economic pie." I am unaware that public school teachers are any more covetous than private businessmen. If so, it has not paid off. Nor am I aware that any producer is primarily concerned with enlarging the economic pie but rather the size of his profits. General Motors doesn't hesitate to cut back production when the pie threatens to get too big for the current market price. Since Adam Smith, capitalism has stressed the theme of selfishness—"every man for himself." Christ's dictum that "it is happier to give than to get" hardly squares with an economic theory emphasizing hedonism, materialism, competition, rivalry, getting. Fortunately capitalism has not lived up to its core theory, and it has been pressed, cajoled, and socialized to serve our society well. But not too well, I would remind my reviewer; for it was not his *bete noir,* "socialism", that produced the slums, crowded the jobless into ghettos, created the frustrations of the riot-torn cities, or decreed the helplessness of the rural cast-offs from the Orkansas plantations. The rat-infested apartments of Harlem are free-enterprise ventures and the excessive rents are set by my friend's golden rule, the "profit motive."

It is regrettable that this discussion should be diverted toward the strident, pseudo-religious, and inflammatory cries of the NEP, whose compelling

motive may be to keep corporate dollars flowing Searcy-ward. Apparently language like "dupes, Peaceniks, and Communist allies" do keep the purse strings loose. For courses in public opinion and propaganda, its film, "Communism on the Map," is a classic example of such techniques as special pleading, exaggeration, distortion, and glittering generality. Its new film, "Revolution Underway," plugging the theme that Watts, Detroit, and Newark riots were the Communist conspiracy at work, will hardly contribute to the hard, grubby task of carrying social justice and democratic values to millions of deprived negroes. What consistency lies in a program that sings of freedom and individualism while casting aspersions on the civil liberties guarantees handed down by the Supreme Court, or denouncing any kind of a *modus viviendi* between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. when the alternative is atomic holocaust? The gap between NEP myth and reality is illustrated by its line that there is a monolithic world communism directed by the "Soviet bosses" when Russia and China are at each other's throats and Castro pronounces a plague on both their houses.

President Eisenhower's solemn warning against the dominance of America by the "industrial-military complex" apparently touched no responsive chord among our hard-liners, but they continue to bat around the hoary hoax that our society is threatened by "the other twin . . . Socialism." The poor, old, broken-down Socialist party makes this claim as laughable as the pretension that Karl Marx was the intellectual god-father of Norman Thomas. The fact is that our Western world has, in the words of Daniel Bell, moved "beyond ideology." This holds no bright hopes for the voices of doctrinaires of all persuasions.

The review's comments on labor reveal the white-collar predominance in the Church of Christ constituency. I have never heard a sermon commemorating Labor Day or defending labor's right to organize and bargain collectively. No person on any Church of Christ college campus has ever heard a panel on how to organize a union, or how an organizer can deal with the hostile power structure in a Southern town. Indeed, as is admitted, the place of organized labor in our order is "seldom mentioned." (Mentioned enough, though, to propose limiting the size of unions to single plants, thus atomizing organized labor.)

Also, there are always dark hints that a great mass of people are ready and willing to loaf and live off the other fellow, and joblessness and unemployment are at their roots individual failures. It is small wonder that the church has attracted few from the blue-collar class and the urban deprived.

Concerning the remarks about Paul's "dialogue" in a synagogue, I cannot refrain from noting how impossible just access, much less dialogue, is for men like Carl Ketcherside in our college-sponsored church councils and main-line pulpits. Hundreds of their college students read *Mission Messenger* eagerly and bootleg it from room to room, finding reason and hope in its message, but dialogue remains as distant from their church experience as Saturn in its orbit. There is, I think, a marked similarity in behavior between authoritarian Communism, which is rightly deplored, and the authoritarian religious party which is